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HISTORY.

HISTORIA vero testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriæ, magistra vitæ, nuntia vetustatis, qua voce alia, nisi Oratoris, immortalitati commendatur.

CHAPTER VIL

THE change which the errors and ministerial improbity of a single reign, have made in the condition of the kingdom of Great Britain is so great, that it is very probable if an accurate comparison were made of the condition of that great country, on the day after GEORGE the IId died, with that in which it is to be contemplated at this, a person unacquainted with the intermediate events, would, with difficulty, be persuaded to believe, that, though bearing the same name, it was in reality the same nation. In a reign of thirty three years, the former of those monarchs advanced the power, the glory and the commercial interests of that kingdom, to an extent before unknown, without impairing, but on the contrary, rather improving the liberties of the people. The foes of England had been made to feel the strength of her arms, in every quarter of the globe. At home the enemies of the British throne of England, were completely subdued; and a dangerous rebellion, which was greatly fomented, and powerfully abetted by the natural enemies of the country,

was effectually crushed; and every fibre of it, which could strike new root, so effectually eradicated, that the spirit of insurrection was entirely quelled in that quarter, and rebellion, upon that principle at least, completely extinguished. From the increased prosperity of the country at home, and the grateful sense entertained of the share, which that monarch's wisdom and virtue had in producing it, he derived the best support of a sovereign, namely, the affections of his people; from his fidelity and firmness in all his engagements and alliances, he acquired the unlimitted confidence of foreign powers; from the vigour and the spirit of his enterprise, and the wisdom and magnanimity of his designs, he gained the best reputation to which a mighty sovereign could aspire; while the splendour of his victories, and the courage and conduct of his fleets and armies, struck terror to the hearts of rival nations. Though disturbed by rebellion at home, and, for a great part of his reign, engaged abroad in a war, as arduous, complex and extensive in its nature, as it was tedious in duration, his kingdom, in all its parts, was flourishing, and his people, in their several classes, enjoyed unexampled happiness; while the increase of commerce, more than kept pace with the immense expences incurred by his numerous armaments. Nor was this all; the extinction of the claims of the house of STUART, and of the hopes of its abettors, together with the success of his arms, and his conquests in the eastern and western hemispheres, gave strength and cohesion to the different parts of the empire, its colonies and dependencies; and bound them up, in one common bond of affection, as well as of interest, not only imparting to them present power and prosperity, but affording them the most reasonable prognostics of a perpetual indissoluble union.

Such was the state of things, so circumstanced the empire, and so unprecedented the advantages, the inheritance of which devolved upon George the IIId, the day that he

ascended the throne of England. The mistaken zeal in fayour of the excluded family of STUART, which had perplexed the former reigns of the house of BRUNSWICK, had gradually abated; and the young king, being a native of Great Britain, and the fourth in descent, though only third in direct succession of his family, afforded to the zealots of hereditary right, an apology for renouncing hopes, which had long been thought forlorn, and claims which had not only been found impracticable, but had become contemptible, and a fair pretext for transferring their fealty to him, whose personal accomplishments, time of life, and general dispositions, were well calculated to conciliate their affections; and whose hereditary rights now established beyond the reach of controversy, justified the transfer of their attachment, and afforded them grounds for adopting the new succession in his person, upon their own original principles. All the writers of that day (those hostile, as well as those favourable to the court) concur in representing the young monarch, as being endowed with personal accomplishments, which could not fail of recommending him to the hearts of the people. graceful and decorous deportment, and morals unsullied even with the shadow of a blemish, conspired with beautiful corporeal externals, to give him every advantage in their eyes, which love could lend to loyalty. The perfections, which he disclosed, they contemplated with joy, and looked upon as certain prognostics of a great, a good and a glorious reign: For those which his youth, and the want of occasion prevented from developement, they gave him ample credit in advance. The popular prejudices and jealousies, excited by the foreign habitudes and attachments of his predecessors, not applying to him, entirely vanished. It cannot be matter of wonder then, that the exiled person, and the defeated cause of the pretender, should, when weighed against the amiable young king, have become perfectly contemptible: More particularly as the title of the former was

disowned throughout Europe, and as his party of adherents, in Britain, were completely disbanded. Along with all this, it is true, that GEORGE the HIId inherited a mighty war; butthen, that war was attended by every circumstance which could bring glory and advantage along with it. Victory, in every quarter of the world, had put into his hands the means not only of negociating an honourable and beneficial peace, but of dictating whatever peace he pleased to his vanquished enemies; and along with it, Gon had given to him a minister better qualified, perhaps, than any who had ever guided the councils of any nation, to convert to the best use, those signal advantages: A minister of intellectual powers, seldom equalled in the world. Keen, penetrating, and almost intuitive sagacity, indefatigable vigilance and activity, spotless integrity, inflexible firmness, a spirit bold, uncontroulable, vigorous and ardent, great magnanimity, and the splendid achievements resulting from all those, gave to PITT a popularity at home, that mixt with the awe, in which the vice and venality of the court and treasury were held in his presence, and the dread which the decision, the wisdom, the promptness, and the intrepidity of his counsels, had spread over Europe, made his very name a tower of strength to the new sovereign. "The king's revenue for the civil establishment, fixed at a large but definite sum, was ample without being invidious. His influence, by additions from conquest, by an augmentation of debt, by an increase of military and naval establishment, was much strengthened and extended. And coming to the throne in the prime and full vigour of youth, as from affection there was a strong dislike, so from dread there seemed to be a general averseness, from giving any thing like offence to a monarch, against whose resentment, opposition could not look for a refuge, in any sort of reversionary hope."*

^{*} Burke's cause of the present discontents.

Of the advantages derived from the American colonies, mention has already been, in part, made. In the East Indies, though his dominions were not so extensive as they are at present, they were intrinsically more advantageous. Sufficient for all the salutary purposes of commerce, they were not, as they are now, dangerously unwieldy; nor did they afford the means which they have for some time afforded and now afford, of corrupting and gradually sapping the constitutional safety of the empire. " The corruption of the Ganges had not then polluted and putrified the pure flood of the wholesome Thames." And in all parts of the earth, almost every mouth that spoke the English language, was united in one common cause, and one common tie of affection and interest with the parent country. Such were the appearances, which at the accession of George the IIId. to the throne of England, promised a reign of felicity and glory; and such the circumstances which the malign counsels of a faction at length brought to a termination so mischievous, so unfortunate, and so inglorious, that he, who on the day of that accession, should have foretold it, even in half its extent of evil, would have been consigned to close keeping as a madman, or, perhaps, put to death by the mob. for the diabolical maliciousness of his conceptions.

It would be unjust to doubt, since it is a point upon which all his cotemporary historians and political writers concur in asserting, that George the IIId. early exhibited the best public dispositions and principles,† as well as the same pure private morals, which have since been his best distinction. The people augured the most happy consequences from his virtues; and national enthusiasm hailed, in his rising perfections, the fullest promise of a patriot king. It is true, he did not, till his accession to the throne, interfere at all in the bu-

[·] Burke.

⁺ Junius's letters.

siness of government; but it was supposed, that every principle which he had early imbibed from his father, then Prince of Wales, and from the statesmen who composed his court, must have been favourable to liberty, since that prince was known to entertain the most pure political sentiments, and to have been filled with an ardent ambition to govern in that spirit of English national freedom, by the means, and for the preservation of which, his family was brought to the throne. During the far greater part of the reign of his father, (GEORGE IId.) the Prince of Wales, and his friends, were in opposition to the court. Generous, ingenuous, liberal and just, he was averse to those parts of that king's policy, which indicated a partiality to the family's German connections injurious to England, and which involved Great Britain, as a principal, in all the wars and contentions of the continent. During his life, the education of his son (the present king) was directed to the inculcation of the best principles of civil and religious liberty; and there is every reason to believe, that the natural dispositions of the youth were well fitted for the reception of such principles: But as soon as that ever to be lamented national calamity, the death of the Prince of Wales, devolved the important trust of the young prince's education, upon the princess dowager his mother, the greatest pains were taken to expunge all the noble impressions he had received, and to impregnate him with opposite principles. The open manner in which this was done, and the abrupt dismissal, from Carleton house, of the most virtuous patriots, to whose instruction the young prince had been committed, gave much alarm, and at last excited very serious fears; especially when it was discovered, that a man, who on many accounts was obnoxious to public dislike, was. gradually working himself into the confidence of the princess dowager, and growing fast into the affections of the heir apparent—the hope of the English people. Nor were

those fears unfounded. England will have cause to lament, to the last moment of her existence, that such a man as Lord Bute, was ever born, or being born, was ever raised from his native obscurity, to corrupt with his pernicious counsel, the best of princes, to blight the glorious promise of his youth, and to hang like an ominous and baleful cloud, himself while living, and his creatures, when he died, even to this day, over the cabinet councils of that great country; since under his advice and influence, the administration of the British government, has been, during the present reign, with but few, and short intervals, one uninterrupted series of vicious design, obstinate error, and ruinous impolicy.

As soon as George the IId. died, no time was lost to give the people ample confirmation of the suspicions and forebodings, with which the junto of Carleton house had filled them, immediately on the demise of the late Prince of Wales. Even the ordinary forms of decency were abandoned, and with no longer interval than that of one day, which it was probable would not have been allowed, if it had not been Sunday, a train of conduct was commenced, in direct contradiction to the antecedent measures of the court, and in violation of the respect due to the late monarch, whose body was scarcely cold, when his memory was insulted. George the IId. had long, with regret perceived, and with vehement invective reprobated the progress which Bute was making in the affections of the young prince.* Yet the day but one after the good old king died, Bute was sworn in a member of

^{*} George IId. one day conversing with the old Earl of Pembroke, at Kensington, perceived two persons walking up towards the palace. Being too near sighted to distinguish who they were, he asked Earl Pembroke, who replied, "the Prince of Wales and Lord Bute;" the king who was pretty blunt, and not at all over-nice or courtly in the selection of his epithets when angry, exclaimed, "BUTE;" damn that eascal he will be the ruin of my grandson. Lord Pembroke openly declared this.—Prophetic.

the privy council. A more unpropitious measure in the public eye could hardly have been devised. Every thing conspired to render it disgusting and surprising to the people, who saw, with some degree of indignation, the distinction of royal favour bestowed upon a man little known or considered in the kingdom; and who, though he possessed considerable property, had no popular quality, no endowment, personal or intellectual, no services past or in prospect, to atone for the want of consequence and connection in England; a man haughty in his deportment and disposition, dark in his manners, obviously cunning and designing, ambitious to an extreme, and complexionally despotic.

Whatever might have been the private feelings of GFORGE the IId. he certainly governed according to the principles of that revolution which seated his family on the throne; and though never wanting in the just assertion of his constitutional authority, or to the maintenance of that share of the prerogative that the constitution allowed him, there is no reason to believe, that he ever looked with dislike upon the limits and restrictions which it put upon the regal power. Though imbued by foreign habitudes and attachments, with high notions of royalprerogative, he appeared to view the free government of England with affection; and there is no reason to imagine that he did not in reality feel, as he appeared to feel, since his natural sincerity has never been impeached; and since in his choice of WILLIAM PITT for a minister, his retention of him to the time of his death, and the respect he always exhibited for that great man, it is manifest, that he was not less solicitous for the preservation of the constitutional privileges of the people, than zealous for the constitutional prerogative of the crown.* It is somewhat

^{*} It is related, that one day his courtiers conversing with him about the fate of Charles the Ist. one of them thinking to please the king, said that the regicides had put Charles to death contrary to law, his majesty replied in his broken English, "they did put him to death by all the law that he did leave them."

remarkable, that the first encroachment attempted by the house of Brunswick upon the former, was under the first prince of that line, who was a native of England, and the first who could reasonably be hoped to be entirely free from the taint of German prejudices and principles: one, too, trained up beyond the example of all former princes, in the full spirit of that national freedom to which he owed his high and glorious situation.

The manifold instances which history and private experience afford, of the immense disproportion between causes and effects, ought to be a check upon human presumption, and to lower that pride of reasoning, which, in contradiction to the evidence of the senses, would trim down every effect to the size of its cause, or swell the cause up to the magnitude of its effect, or else totally deny the existence of the connection between them. To the catalogue of those instances, the history now in hand, commemorates the addition of one the most striking and conspicuous. What man, however weak or credulous, could, on the day that the Prince of Wales (the father of GEORGE the IIId.) died, have believed, even though one came from the dead to announce it, that a political intrigue under the roof of Carleton house, between the princess dowager, and a peer of Scotland, would ultimately strip Great Britain of a vast, and invaluable portion of its empire, and bring about a revolution, on which would be raised one of the greatest and most independent nations upon earth? "This, says a very celebrated author. (meaning the introduction of Lord BUTE) was the alienate point from which all the mischiefs and disgraces of the reign took life and motion."

When the household of the present king, then Prince of Wales, was, after his father's death, about to be established, the wise and worthy old king expressed, in the most distinct and peremptory manner, his disapprobation of Lord Bute's being admitted into it. In direct contradiction, however, to his

will, the earl was, by the obstinacy and intrigue of the princess dowager, with the aid of his lordship's own craft introduced into it; and the young prince's education was thus given up to the direction, or rather the dominion of a man and a woman, both of them more unfit, than perhaps any other persons, that could have been selected from the mass of the population of England for that purpose. There were not wanting some persons sagacious enough at an early period, to penetrate into the designs of the princess and her favorite, and spirited enough to avow their suspicions; nor were many others insensible to their observations, or slow to give credit to them. The design was by some compared to the detestable concert between Anne of Austria, and Cardinal MAZARINE, to keep the minor Louis the XIVth. in perpetual tutelage; and by others, to the still worse connection between the dowager queen mother of the illustrious monarch, EDWARD, and her infamous favorite MORTIMER. And though the forebodings to which the proceedings at Carleton house gave birth, were far short of the evils which have ensued, they were enough to have justified the compulsory interference of the parliament, and to have enlisted the power of that body on the side of the old monarch's opinion and inclinations, in an affair, which in theory, must at the time have been considered of such vast importance to the kingdom; and has since, in effect, been practically proved to be of such ruinous consequences to that country, and in some respects, such mischief to the world at large.

Though the subjection of the young heir apparent, to such a system of instruction, as was to be expected from his mother and her favorite furnished the people with strong motives for regret and apprehension, hopes were still entertained from the operation of those principles which had been early inculcated in his bosom, by his excellent father, upon his own natural disposition, and promising qualities. Even the amusements, as well as the more serious parts of the

instruction of his children, were selected by the prince of Wales, with a view to the inculcation of the principles of a patriot; and his royal highness' appointment of the tragedy of CATO, to be performed by the young princes, under the direction of Mr. Quin, the player, tutor to prince GEORGE, with a prologue in praise of liberty," purposely written for that prince, and which he spoke in a manner astonishing for his years, manifestly indicated what was the father's destination of the boy's mind, and what might have been expected from the system of his education, under such a father, had it been the will of heaven to have spared his life. For a long time after GEORGE IIId. came to the throne, these hopes did not subside; nor did the nation resign the expectation of a glorious reign so entirely, as to grow indifferent to the sovereign, till his private virtues and inherent goodness of heart, independent of, and superior to the wickedness of his advisers, and the corruption of his court, came in aid of their affections, and gave to their hearts the good man, as a substitute for the great king. Indeed, their fondness for him was so unalterable, that the mass of the people, with their eyes wide open to the ruins of his reign, still dwell upon himself personally with passionate affection. Even Junius, the ferocious, unrelenting Junius, speaks thus, as to the king, " we are still inclined to make an indulgent allowance for the pernicious lessons you received in your youth, and to form the most sanguine hopes from the natural benevolence of your disposition."

The perfidious design of obtaining a complete controul over the mind of the heir apparent, having been once projected, every measure which could conduce to its success,

* Whence Liberty, O name for ever dear,
Breathes forth in ev'ry line, and bids us fear
Nor pains, nor death to guard our sacred laws,
But bravely perish in our country's cause;
Should this superior to my years be thought,
KNOW, 'TWAS THE FIRST GREAT LESSON I WAS TAUGHT

was devised with a cunning truly diabolical, and carried into effect, with a degree of industry and perseverance, worthy of a more righteous cause. The first step was to insure to the favorite the personal affections of the prince, and to exclude him from all counsel, attachment, or connection, with his natural guardians and advisers, the old nobility and gentry of the land; that body of men who had placed his ancestors on the throne, and who formed, at once the bond of connection, and the separate defence of the throne and the people. To this end, the young prince and Lord BUTE were inseparable; the former was never seen but in the presence or company of the latter, scarcely was a moment out of his sight, and seldom conversed out of his hearing. So that when the death of GEORGE the IId. put the sceptre into the hand of the young king, hewas as completely under the influence of the favorite, as the princess dowager and her junto could then, or that junto which, under another head, and with other members, has succeeded them, could ever since, or can now desire.

But though the influence over the heart and mind of the king was established, it was found necessary to create an influence of another kind, to procure it effect. The operation of the former, they saw, would be successfully opposed, and effectually impeded by obstacles of no common size, if they could not be removed or provided against by the latter. It required no great sagacity to foresee, that the body of men, who had hitherto supported the throne, would, on many accounts, be little disposed to submit to the newly started up possessors of royal confidence, or to prostrate their dignity and their services, at the feet of the favourite. This part of the history of George the IIId. is particularly worth attention, as it is the germ of that pernicious system, which the British have long justly execrated, which Lord CHATHAM distinguished by the name of "the influence behind the throne," and which now blasts the counsels, and cripples

the immense and once powerful limbs of that mighty empire.

At the time of the revolution of sixteen hundred and eighty-eight, the crown was, for purposes necessary to the effecting of the revolution itself, stripped of many of its prerogatives; the consequence of which was, that it was found too weak to perform the executive functions necessary to the existence of the state and constitution, or to contend with the difficulties which pressed upon it, in the new and unsettled condition of the government, without some accession of strength from the other parts of the political body of the kingdom. In this state of things, it was deemed expedient to call in the aid of some persons, who had weight and interest enough to support the court, and, as it would be necessary to delegate a share of its powers to them, of such known fidelity as would adhere to its establishment. The influence of those persons was so great, as to draw into the common support and defence, and into a concurrence with the court, a vast number of others; while the body generally contained in it many persons of popular character, through whose intervention the people possessed a security for their just share of importance in the state. Thus, the safety of the court on one hand, and of the people on the other was guaranteed, and their proper connection and mutual uses to each other, preserved by the link which this body constituted between them; and which was certainly so long as it was properly conducted, a valuable and a safe instrument of government. It however, in time, began to be considered by the creatures of the court, rather an incumbrance, than an aid, possession giving every day new strength to the crown, and the wheels of government running smoother from use. At the same time the heads of parties, who were the powerful managers for government, were not a little disposed to act upon the consciousness, that they conferred as well as received obligations, and that they were not bound to

pay implicit submission to the court. By this division of the influence of government between the court and the leaders of parties, it often happened, that the weight of it fell into the popular, rather than the royal scale; and thus a part of it returned again to the source from whence it came, the people. The lovers of absolute monarchy, of course, disliked a system which took so much of the government out of the hands of the crown, and placed it in men of great natural weight and acquired consideration. "It is the nature of despotism (says the great political philosopher, from whom much of the spirit of this part of the history has been taken) to abhor power held by any means but it's own momentary pleasure; and to annihilate all intermediate situations between boundless strength on its own part, and total debility on the part of the people."

In order, therefore, that government might be carried on without the concurrence or interference of any body on the part of the people, it was resolved by the intriguing junto, without the slightest respect to the dignity, or consideration for the opinion of the higher order of people, and wholly regardless of the affections of the lower, to get rid of this intermediate and independent body, and to secure to the court the unlimitted and uncontrouled use of its own vast influence, under the sole direction of its own private favour.* The first attempt to carry this project into execution, being made before measures were ripe for the purpose, and meeting with unexpected opposition, the plan was deemed ineligible: and the idea, not that of the purpose, but that of the mode of accomplishing it was abandoned, and a new plan, or rather the old one mended, better accommodated to the times, and therefore more sure of gradually attaining the ends of the junto, was devised and adopted. This project, one of the most daring and extracrdinary, and as it has turned out in the end, one of the most mischievous that could have entered

Burke.

into the mind of man, was to form two cabinets, the one ostensible, to be presented to the public eye, and to act in subserviency to the other; the persons who composed which, not appearing in, and scarcely affecting to aim at the high and responsible officers of the state, were yet to be about the court, distributed through the secondary but efficient departments of office, and through the households of all the branches of the royal family; in which situation, with little or no responsibility, they could occupy every avenue to the throne; and, being thus enabled to exercise their various arts, to exclude any person, and frustrate any measure, according as it might suit their own interests. Before this · plan was contemplated; the court and the ministry were looked upon as the same body; the very terms were considered as synonimous; but now a line was to be drawn between them; and in order that the government might be administered without the least reference to the people, or connection with their interests, sentiments or opinions, those two distinct administrations were formed, one in the secret and possessed of royal confidence, the other ostensible and ordained, to perform the executive duties. It is hard to conceive a scheme more fully fraught than this, with cunning, mischief and injustice; since in case of great miscarriage or criminal malversation, the real advisers who substantially possessed the whole power, were out of the reach of danger, while the others alone would be responsible.

As adjuncts to this plan, two other things were to be accomplished. In the first place a party, under those leaders, was formed in favour of the court against the ministry, and those were to be rewarded by office and emoluments, apart from, and independent of the ostensible administration; in the second place, parliament, or at least a majority of it, was, by some means or other, to be influenced to a concurrence with the whole scheme.

One would imagine, that the projectors of this plan would have been startled at its apparent impracticability; and that the process would be too long, too arduous, and too tedious, not to make them despair of finding patience and perseverance enough to go through with it. Indeed, with full experience and the demonstration by facts, of its practicability, it is not without hesitation one can believe, that there could have existed in the mind of man, a sufficiency of the sort of morbid strength which was necessary to such an enterprize; to support the hope that a project could be completely accomplished, which went not only to overthrow all preceding rules and forms of administration, but to encounter the interests, to infringe upon the privileges, to insult the dignity, to mortify the pride, to abridge the power of the British nobility, and to cut off from their natural influence, in the government of their country, the first characters in the empire for weight and influence; weight derived from opulence, from rank, and from connections, and influence derived not only from all those, but from popularity created by their talents and virtues. To cut off the great communication of interests that subsisted between the court and the people, and to enlist parliament itself, as abettors of their evil purpose.

CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY OF THE PASSING TIMES.

WASHINGTON, MARCE 4

This day Thomas Jefferson, being a second time elected President of the United States, took the oath of office, and delivered the following Inaugural Speech, in the senate chamber, in presence of the members of the two houses, and a large concourse of citizens.

PROCEEDING, fellow citizens, to that qualification which the constitution requires, before my entrance on the charge again conferred on me, it is my duty to express the deep sense I entertain of this new proof of confidence from my fellow-citizens at large, and the zeal with which it inspires me so to conduct myself as may best satisfy their just expectations.

On taking this station on a former occasion, I declared the principles upon which I believed it my duty to administer the affairs of our commonwealth. My conscience tells me that I have on every occasion acted up to that declaration according to its obvious import, and to the understanding of every candid mind

In the transaction of your foreign affairs, we have endeavoured to cultivate the friendship of all nations, and especially of those with which we have the most important relations. We have done them justice on all occasions: favour where favour was lawful, and cherished mutual interests and intercourse on fair and equal terms. We are firmly convinced, and we act on that conviction, that with nations, as with individuals, our interests, soundly calculated, will ever be found inseparable from our moral duties. And history bears witness to the fact, that a just nation is trusted on its word, when recourse is had to armaments, and wars to bridle others.

At home, fellow-citizens, you best know whether we have done well or ill. The suppression of unnecessary offices, of useless establishments and expences, enabled us to discontinue our internal taxes. These covering our land with officers, and opening our doors to their intrusions, had already begun that process of domiciliary vexation, which, once entered, is scarcely to be restrained from reaching successively every article of produce and of property. If, among these taxes, some minor ones fell, which had not been inconvenient, it was because their amount would not have paid the officers who collected them, and because, if they had any merit, the state authorities might adopt them instead of others less approved.

The remaining revenue on the consumption of foreign articles, is paid chiefly by those who can afford to add foreign luxuries to domestic comfort. Being collected on our sea board and frontiers only, and incorporated with the transactions of our merhantile citizens, it may be the pleasure and the pride of an American to ask, what farmer, what mechanic, what labourer ever sees a tax-gatherer of the United States? These contributions enable us to support the current expenses of the government, to fulfil contracts with foreign nations, to extinguish the native right of soil within our limits, to extend those limits, and to apply such a surplus to our public debts, as places at a short day their final redemption, and that redemption once effected, the revenue thereby liberated, may by a just repartition among the states, and a corresponding amendment of the constitution, be applied, in time of peace, to rivers, canals, roads, arts, manufactures, education, and other great objects within each state. In time of war, if injustice by ourselves or others must sometimes produce war, increased as the

same revenue will be by increased population and consumption, and aided by other resources, reserved for that crisis, it may meet within the year all the expences of the year, without encroaching on the rights of future generations, by burthening them with the debts of the past. War will then be but a suspension of useful works, and a return to a state of peace, a return to the progress of improvement.

I have said, fellow-citizens, that the income reserved had enabled us to extend our limits; but that extension may possibly pay for itself before we are called on, and in the mean time may keep down the accruing interest. In all events it will replace the advances we shall have made. I know that the acquisition of Louisiana has been disapproved by some, from a candid apprehension that the enlargement of our territory may endanger its union. But who can limit the extent to which the federative principle may operate effectively? The larger our association, the less will it be shaken by local passions. And in any view, is it not better that the opposite bank of the Missisippi should be settled by our own brethren and children, than by strangers of another family? With which shall we be most likely to live in harmony and friendly intercourse?

In matters of religion, I have considered that its free exercise is placed by the constitution, independent of the powers of the general government. I have therefore undertaken on no occasion, to prescribe the religious exercises suited to it: but have left them, as the constitution found them, under the direction and discipline of the state or church authorities acknowledged by the several religious societies.

The aboriginal inhabitants of these countries, I have regarded with the commiseration their history inspires. Endowed with the faculties and the rights of men, breathing an ardent love of liberty and independence, and occupying a country which left them no desire but to be undisturbed, the stream of overflowing population from other regions di-

rected itself on these shores. Without power to divert, or habits to contend against it, they have been overwhelmed by the current, or driven before it. Now reduced within limits too narrow for the hunter state, humanity enjoins us to teach them agriculture and the domestic arts; to encourage them to that industry which alone can enable them to maintain their place in existence; and to prepare them, in time, for that state of society, which, to bodily comforts, adds the improvement of the mind and morals. We have therefore, liberally furnished them with the implements of husbandry and houshold use: we have placed among them instructors in the arts of first necessity; and they are covered with the agis of the law against aggressors from among ourselves.

But the endeavours to enlighten them on the fate which awaits their presents course of life, to induce them to exercise their reason, follow its dictates, and change their pursuit with the change of circumstances, have powerful obstacles to encounter. They are combatted by the habits of their bodies, prejudices of their minds, ignorance, pride, and the influence of interested and crafty individuals among them, who feel themselves something in the present order of things, and fear to become nothing in any other. Those persons inculcate a sanctimonious reverence for the customs of their ancestors; that whatsoever they did must be done through all time; that reason is a false guide, and to advance under its counsel in their physical, moral, or political condition, is perilous innovation: that their duty is to remain as their creator made them, ignorance being safety, and knowledge full of danger. In short, my friends, among them also is seen the action and counter action of good sense and of bigotry. They too, have their anti-philosophists, who find an interest in keeping things in their present state; who dread reformation, and exert all their faculties to maintain the ascendancy of habit over the duty of improving our reason, and obeying its mandates.

In giving these outlines, I do not mean, fellow-citizens, to arrogate to myself the merit of the measures. That is due, in the first place, to the reflecting character of our citizens at large, who by the weight of public opinion, influence and strengthen the public measures: It is due to the sound discretion with which they select from among themselves those to whom they confide the legislative duties: It is due to the zeal and wisdom of the characters thus selected, who lay the foundations of public happiness in wholesome laws, the execution of which alone remains for others; and it is due to the able and faithful auxiliaries, whose patriotism has associated them with me in the executive functions.

During this course of administration, and in order to disturb it, the artillery of the press has been levelled against us, charged with whatsoever its licentiousness could devise or dare. These abuses of an institution so important to freedom and science, are deeply to be regretted, inasmuch as they tend to lessen its usefulness, and to sap its safety. They might perhaps have been corrected by the wholesome punishments reserved to, and provided by, the laws of the several states, against falsehood and defamation: But public duties, more urgent, press on the time of public servants, and the offenders have therefore been left to find their punishment in the public indignation.

Nor was it uninteresting to the world that an experiment should be fairly and fully made; whether freedom of discussion, unaided by power, is not sufficient for the propagation and protection of truth? Whether a government, conducting itself in the true spirit of its constitution, with zeal and purity, and doing no act which it would be unwilling the the whole world should witness, can be written down by falshood and defamation. The experiment has been tried.—You have witnessed the event. Our fellow citizens have looked on cool and collected. They saw the latent source from which these outrages proceeded: they gathered around their public functionaries, and when the constitution

called them to the decision by suffrage, they pronounced their verdict, honourable to those who had served them, consolatory to the friend of man, who believes he may be intrusted with the control of his own affairs.

No inferrence is here intended that the laws, provided by the states against false, defamatory publications, should not be inforced. He who has time, renders a service to public morals and public tranquility in reforming these abuses, by the salutary coertions of the law. But the experiment is noted to prove that, since truth and reason have maintained their ground against false opinions in league with false facts, the press, confined to truth needs no other legal restraint. The public judgment will correct false reasonings and opinions, on a full hearing of all parties, and no other definite line can be drawn between the inestimable liberty of the press, and its demoralising licentiousness. If there be still improprieties which this rule would not restrain, its supplement must be sought in the censorship of public opinion.

Contemplating the union of sentiment now manifested so generally, as auguring harmony and happiness to our future course, I offer to our country sincere congratulations. With those too, not yet rallied to the same point, the disposition to do so is gaining strength. Facts are piercing through the veil drawn over them; and our doubting brethren will at length see that the mass of their fellow citizens, with whom they cannot yet resolve to act, as to principles and measures, think as they think, and desire what they desire. That our wish, as well as theirs, is that the public efforts may be directed honestly to the public good, that peace be culivated, civil and religious liberty unassailed, law and order preserved, equality of rights maintained, and that state of property equal or unequal which results to every man from his own industry or that of his fathers. When satisfied of these views, it is not in human nature that they should not approve and support them. In the mean time let us cherish them

with patient affection: let us do them justice, and more than justice, in all competitions of interest: and we need not doubt that truth, reason, and their own interests will at length prevail, will gather them into the fold of their country, and will complete that entire union of opinion, which gives to a nation the blessings of harmony, and the benefit of all its strength.

I shall now enter on the duties to which my fellow citizens have again called me: and shall proceed in the spirit of those principles which they have approved. I fear not that any motives of interest may lead me astray. I am sensible of no passion which could seduce me knowingly from the path of justice; but the weaknesses of human nature, and the limits of my own understanding, will produce errors of judgment sometimes injurous to your interests. I shall need, therefore, all the indulgence I have heretofore experienced; the want of it will certainly not lessen with increasing years. I shall need too, the favour of that Being in whose hands we are, who led our fathers, as Israel of old, from their native land, and planted them in a country flowing with all the necessaries and comforts of life: who has covered our infancy with his providence, and our riper years with his wisdom and power; and to whose goodness I ask you to join with me in supplications, that he will so enlighten the minds of your servants, guide their councils and prosper their measures, that whatsoever they do, shall result in their good, and shall secure to you the peace, friendship, and approbation of all nations.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

CONGRESS.

EXEMPTION OF COLLEGE BOOKS, &C. FROM DUTT.

During the course of this session, to wit, on the 19th of November, the attention of the House of Representatives was called by Mr. Mitchell, to the literary institutions of the United States. In contemplation of a meditated application on the part of Princetown College, to abate the bonded duties on a recent importation of books and philosophical apparatus, imported for the use of that seminary, and apprehending that that application would not be granted, yet wishing for a relaxation of the principle, now that was not wanting as before to the states, as appeared by the President's Message, he moved, "that the committee of ways and means be instructed to enquire into the expediency of exempting from impost all such books and philosopical apparatus, as shal! be imported on account of colleges and universities, for the benefit of those learned institutions, and that they report thereon, by bill, or otherwise."

The motion passed in the affirmative.

The committee reported it to be inexpedient to grant any such exemptions, and on the 27th of November, the order of the day, on the report of the committee being called for, and the subject being taken into consideration, the report was justified, and the proposed exemption opposed in toto, upon constitutional grounds. The constitution, it was urged by the opposers, was a grant of limited powers for general objects, which even though Congress should think too short, they had no right to exceed. The privileges of that house, they said, had been precisely defined, and no power was left its members to extend them whatever might be their wishes or dispositions. The principle that the constitution is but a limited grant, was brought into contemplation frequently, and instances of its recognition often occurred, if not always directly, very effectually .-The very clause in the constitution which gave to Congress the power to levy taxes, did also specially provide that all duties, imposts and excises should be uniformly levied through all the states, and however ambiguous the words of the constitution might be in other clauses, in this it was peremptory, explicit, distinct and

definite. If Congress undertook to exempt one class of people from the payment of the impost, they might exempt others also: If they began with exempting colleges and universities for the advancement of learning, they might go on, and exempt the clergy and congregations, for the advancement of religion also; they might exempt their own members; nor was it possible to say where they might stop, if, according to this measure, they overleaped the barrier of the constitution, and entered into the wide field of privilege. If the President of the union chose to import books for himself he must pay the duty; the constitution allowed of no privileged class, and every man must bend to it.

It might be objected that this construction of the constitution was incorrect, as philosophical apparatus imported for seminaries of learning, had been before exempted from duty: but, while it could not be denied that such exemption had been granted by Congress, it was the opinion of the opposers of this measure, that, the law so exempting them was unconstitutional; they did not however wish to cast any odium upon the framers of it more than they deserved, as their introducing it, might have been the result of pure motives, and of a desire to advance science and literature, or it might have been passed through inadvertency. But this was not all; for so intent were the original framers of the constitution upon guarding against the exercise of any power drawn by construction, even upon this very subject that, solicitous as they must be supposed to have been to extend it, it has limitted the efforts of Congress for the promotion of literature and useful arts, to the mere power of granting to authors and discoverers, the exclusive use of their own inventions, and the exclusive publication of their own works: So that Congress had not the power to promote the advancement of science or literature in any other way. The report was also justified on other grounds of expediency. On the other hand, it was contended in favor

of the exemption, that the paragraph in the eighth section of the first article of the constitution, on which the objection had been founded, would not bear the import assigned to it by the supporters of the committee's report, for the words of that paragraph were " levy and collect TAXES, duties, imposts and excises," but that it drops the word taxes, that being settled in another part of the constitution, and declares that, "duties, imposts, and excises, shall be uniform." The one speaks of direct taxes, the other of indirect; meaning that if an indirect tax were to be laid, it should be uniform. No one state is to have an excise laid upon its inhabitants unless that tax extends to the citizens of every other. One part is not to be excised, and the other part excused: this was contended to be the true construction of the constitution. As to Congress not having the power to promote literature by any means but the one stated, it was asked, whether Congress had not made grants of lands for that very purpose, in the Western Country. On the whole the advocates, for the exemption declared their firm persuasion, that the constitution presented no impediment to it, and that the expediency of the measure was evident.

In reply it was urged, that nothing which had been said was an answer to the constitutional objection. Duties, imposts and excises, it had been admitted, ought to be uniform: But could they be uniform if a particular class or corporation were exempted from the payment of them. Lands had been granted; duties received into the treasury had been returned; and the right could not be questioned of giving away public money to objects which required and deserved it, or to cases of particular hardship: But could individual cases of that kind which rested on their own merit, be instanced as precedents to authorize the wholesale disposal of public money. The United States had granted lands to general La Fayette, and also for schools in the Western Country: But did that afford a reasonable

ground for argument, in favour of an exemption from paying half or two thirds of the price, when the sale was made on a uniform system. In a word, if Congress forgave the duties in this instance, they might forgive them to all or any of their favorites when they had any. It was added that giving literary institutions the privilege of exemption from imposts would open a wide door for fraud. They might import books for sale, duty free, and undersell our booksellers who pay the duty. The children of the rich were the only persons who had access to those universities, then why privilege them for their accommodation at the expence of the poor, whose pittance ought not to be taxed for such a purpose.

The question was carried against the exemption; seventynine members voting against it.

Mr. J. Randolph, Mr. J. Clay and Mr. Findley, were against the exemption. Mr. Griswold and Mr. Danna for it.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

The valedictory address to the Senate, of Mr. Burn, the late vice president, pronounced on the second of this month, is represented, as having been one of the most dignified, sublime, and impressive pieces of eloquence, ever uttered in a public assembly. It is not however for its elequence; but it is because it contains some observations upon the expediency of a strict attention to rule and decorum in public proceedings, so true and so wise, as to deserve being kept in mind by all good citizens, that it is put upon record in this work. The strict correctness of the report is not here vouched for, but it is likely that there is no very material error in it, since it seems to have received pretty general assent.

Mr. Burn began by saying, that he had intended to pass the day with them; but the increase of a slight indisposition (sore throat) had determined him, then to take his leave of them. He touched lightly on some of the rules and orders of the house, and recommended, in one or two points, alterations, of which he briefly explained the reasons and principles.

He then said, he was sensible that he must, at times, have wounded the feelings of individual members: he had ever avoided entering into any explanation at the time, because a moment of irritation was not the moment of explanation; because his situation (being in the chair) rendered it impossible to enter into explanations without obvious danger of consequences, which might hazard the dignity of the senate, or prove disagreeable and injurious in more than one point of view: that he had therefore, preferred to leave to their reflections his justification: that on his part he had no injuries to complain of; if any had been done or attempted, he was ignorant of the authors, and if he had ever heard he had forgotten; for he thanked Gop he had no memory for injuries. He doubted not but that they had found occasion to observe, that to be prompt was not therefore to be precipitate; and to act without delay was not always to act without reflection: that error was often to be preferred to indecision: that his errors, whatever they might have been, were those of rule and principle, and not of caprice: that it could not be deemed ignorance in him to say, that in his official conduct he had known no party, no cause, no friend. That if in the opinion of any, the discipline which had been established, approached to rigour, they would at least admit that it was uniform and indiscriminate.

He further remarked, that the ignorant and unthinking affected to treat as unnecessary and fastidious, a rigid attention to rules and decorum; but he thought nothing trivial which touched, however remotely, the dignity of that body;

he appealed to their experience for the justice of this sentiment, and urged them in language the most impressive, and in a manner the most commanding, to avoid the smallest relaxation of the habits which he had endeavoured to inculcate and establish.

But he challenged their attention to considerations more momentous, than any which regarded merely personal honor and character, the observation of the law of liberty, and the constitution. This house, said he, is a sanctuary and a citadel of law, of order, of liberty: and it is here; it is here, in this exalted refuge; here, if any where, will resistance be made to the storms of popular frenzy, and the silent arts of corruption: and if the constitution be destined ever to perish by the sacrilegious hands of the demagogue or the usurper (which God avert) its expiring agonies will be witnessed on this floor.

He then adverted to those afflicting sensations which attended a final separation: a dissolution, perhaps for ever, of those associations which he hoped had been mutually satisfactory. He consoled himself, however, and them, with the reflections, that, though separated, they would be engaged in the common cause of disseminating principles of freedom and social order: he should always regard the proceedings of that body with interest, and with solicitude: he should feel for their honour and the national honour so intimately connected with it: and he took his leave with impressions of personal respect, and with prayers and wishes, &c.

March 2, 1805.—A concert for the benefit of the distressedemigrants form St. Domingo, at Charleston, S. C. on Tuesday last, was so numerously attended, that the managers, who met the next day, reported, that there remained sixteen hundred dollars to be distributed, after defraying all expences.

It is an extraordinary circumstance to relate, that the manager of the theatre of that splendid and opulent city, New-York, should have been constrained to announce to the

public, on the 19th of last month, that for want of patronage, he must close the theatre.

Two marriages, a little curious, as respects the accidental assemblage of names, have been this month published in the daily prints, with couplets upon them, no less cuzious.

Married, at Lexington, Kentucky, Mr. John Strong, to Miss Sally Sheaf.

> His STRENGTH may surely now resound, For JOHN his SHEAF has STRONGLY bound.

Married, at Rutland, Vermont, Mr. Thomas Lyon to Miss Betsey Lamb.

The happy time arrives at length,
In scripture days foretold,
When LAMB and LYON both unite,
Embrace and keep one fold.

The academy at Hallowell, in the District of Maine, was last month, burnt down to the ground, with the apparatus and books belonging to sixty students. This valuable institution in an existence of only nine years, is said to have received nine hundred scholars. It was the first established in Maine.

During a violent snow storm, William Hitchcock, a young man of twenty years of age, perished at Washington, in Connecticut. Just before sun-set, he was met walking homeward, and at a distance of about one hundred roods further on, he was found lying, with his face downward, and nearly lifeless. He was carried to the next house, when he gasped twice and expired. It is melancholy to relate that three others (two men and one woman) lost their lives in the same storm; and in one which took place a few days after, no less than five persons perished.

At Chatham, Connecticut, an aged man, who being insane, was confined down to the floor of the room in which he lived, was frozen to death in that situation.

The following act of barbarity (perpetrated at Suffield, Connecticut, deserves to be commemorated. A boy of 12 years old, living with an indigent family, who were ill provided with beds, solicited permission, as the night was intensely cold, to sleep by the fire on the ground floor. This, however, was refused him by the master of the house, who, on the boy's repeating the request, with his horsewhip drove him into a cold garret, where his only covering was a few rags; and in that situation left him to spend the night. The cries of the boy, however, soon reached his ear; he returned to the garret, and there beat and mangled him till all complaints were effectually silenced. The next morning the boy was found apparently lifeless; all the lower part of his body frozen; an unexampled object of misery. The boy it is said soon died.

On the 5th, as the ship Augusta was passing through the Narrows, on her passage to Belfast, the people were called aft on duty, when one of the men, with great deliberation, pulled of his hat, and taking farewell of his comrades, leapt over the stern, into the sea. The ship was immediately hove to, the boat hoisted over-board, and every means tried to save the infatuated man, but without effect; he sunk to the bottom. No cause can be assigned for this rash act.

A number of gentlemen, in New-York, desirous of promoting useful knowledge, have instituted an association, under the name of the New-York Historical Society, for the purpose of discovering, procuring, and preserving whatever may relate to the national, civil, literary, and ecclesiastical history of our country, and particularly of the state of New-York.

Captain Matthias Rider, of the schooner Clarissa and Eliza, arrived at the port of Charleston, S. C. from Jamaica, shot himself on the 21st instant, on board, in presence of his mate. A coroner's inquest gave a verdict of lunacy. Captain Rider formerly resided in Massachusetts, and has left a wife and family in Buckstown, Maine.

The following extract, from the statement of the exports of the United States, for one year, ending on the 30th of September, 1804, must be flattering to the pride of every true American.

me sencelve	
DOMESTIC.	FOREIGN.
134,896 bbls.	*
2,476,550 lbs.	
1,944,873 bush.	100
35,034,175 lbs.	3,083,866 lbs.
	48,312,713 lbs.
w 2,239,356 lbs.	26,728 lbs.
810,008 bbls.	
6,290 head	
5,126 head	
5,999 head	
111,532 bbls.	
78,335 tierces	
ufac. 278,071 lbs.	
ufac. 83,343 lbs.	
58,181 bbls.	
77,827 bbls.	
	2,476,550 lbs. 1,944,873 bush. 35,034,175 lbs. w 2,239,356 lbs. 810,008 bbls. 6,290 head 5,126 head 5,999 head 111,532 bbls. 78,335 tierces afac. 278,071 lbs. afac. 83,343 lbs. 58,181 bbls.

The following instance of the extreme changes in our climate is worth recording. At Norfolk, during this month the mercury rose in a cool passage to 81 degrees, and in a few days after, was below 35 degrees.

In the late pestilence which ravaged Gibraltar, a circumstance uncommonly afflicting, is related to have occurred. There were four brothers, whose families amounted altogether to 20 persons, every one of whom but one little boy perished. Another brother who lived in London, reading a letter containing an account of it, on Change, fell lifeless on the ground, and remained for so long a time senseless, that it was feared he had died also.

From a recent enumeration, it appears that Ireland contains 12,001,200 Irish acres.—5,495,944 inhabitants.—687,118 houses.

CHAPTER IX.

BIOGRAPHY.

MEMOIRS OF THE YOUNG ROSCIUS.

[Continued from page 88.]

The first appearance of the young Roscius, in Great Britain, was accordingly fixed for Wednesday, the 21st May, 1804, in the character of Douglas, the part with which he usually opens. His reception was equal to the manager's most sanguine expectations; and proved that the language of nature and passion, are every where alike understood, and equal ly relished. Mr. Jackson, in writing on this subject, declares, "that he received the greatest bursts of applause, which he had ever witnessed, to have been given by any audience." He played the whole fourteen nights of his engagement to overflowing houses, and received the same approbation in every character he attempted.

A few days after his first appearance at Glasgow, a very severe philippic against his performance of Douglas, was published by an anonymous critic. I have not seen a copy of this pamphlet; but I am told it is written with very unjustifiable asperity, and that the satire is, in almost every respect, unmerited and illiberal. At all events, it does not appear to have produced its intended effect on those to whom it was addressed. The author was discovered, and the expression of public indignation against him, became so violent, that, as I am informed, he thought it adviseable, for some time to quit the city.

From Glasgow, Mr. Jackson conducted the young Roscius to Edinburgh, where he performed the same number

of nights, with such a similarity of success, that to describe it, would be merely a tiresome repetition of the same modes of expression. The audience of this metropolis is esteemed, by many, the most refined in the three kingdoms; and criticism was here drained to the very dregs, in analyzing hisperformances, and detecting his weaknesses. The accounts which have been sent from Edinburgh, have been, at least some of them, written with vigour and acuteness, but with a visible eagerness to expose defects, and a singular inaptitude in the discovery of beauties. He is even charged with some gross errors and excesses, of which no trace is to be found in his acting; such as affectation, bombast and extravagance: This is something worse than illiberal. He has no right to expect indulgence at the expence of sincerity, but surely his helpless age and arduous efforts, entitle him to all consideration and kindness, not incompatible with truth.

While he remained in Scotland, offers of engagements from the principal theatrical managers in England, poured in upon him from all quarters. He had already passed through two parts of the empire, with an uninterrupted career of success, and the third now only remained for his scene of action. Till his performance at Edinburgh, he had been very little heard of in England; but his fame was now extending itself rapidly in every direction: And the continual rumours of his extraordinary talents, began to excite attention even in London. Mr. M'CREADY, the manager of the Birmingham theatre, was the first that brought him before the English public. He was the earliest in his application for this enviable and profitable distinction, and every one will be pleased to hear that his spirit and exertion have been liberally requited. The young Roscius played at Birmingham fourteen nights; and the theatrical annals of that town, furnish nothing equal to the astonishing commotion which his performances excited. The public inns were completely ocupied with persons who came to see him from every part of the surrounding country; and even the stage-coaches, from places at a distance, were filled with passengers on the same errand. The case was exactly the same at Sheffield, where he afterwards performed fourteen nights under the same manager. The town was so crouded with company, that it was with great difficulty a bed could be procured, either in a public or private house.

After leaving Sheffield, he arrived about the beginning of October, at Liverpool. All his former success at other places, however brilliant and unprecedented, were here completely eclipsed. The inhabitants of this town are particularly attached to dramatic amusements, and the ordinary receipts of the theatres greatly exceed those of any other in the kingdom (London, and perhaps Dublin, only excepted.) This is apparent from the rent paid by the managers, Messrs. Lewis and Knight, to the proprietors, which is fourteen hundred pounds per annum.-The house is also considerably more spacious than any other in the empire, except those before mentioned; yet the difficulty of admittance was such, during the performance of the young Roscius, that a few minutes after the doors was opened, not a place was to be obtained in any part of the house. When the box-office opened in the morning, the pressure to procure places was so excessive, that many gentlemen had their clothes torn in pieces, their hats and shoes carried away in the croud, and themselves, sometimes, severely bruised, and almost suffocated in the attempt. There is reason to believe, that if the theatre had been twice as large, it would have been equally thronged. The terms of his engagement were so liberal, that he received from the managers, for his share of the profits of fifteen nights, the enormous sum of fifteen hundred and twenty pounds; as appears from Mr. BETTY's receipt, in Mr. KNIGHT's possession. Perhaps it would be

difficult to find an example of so large a sum having ever before been paid to any individual for personal exertion alone, in the same space of time.

From Liverpool he went to Chester, where he played seven nights; and his performances, as usual, were attended by all the gentry of the neighbourhood, for a circuit of many miles. He left that city, on the 9th of November, in order to perform a few nights at Manchester, which was his last engagement in the country, previous to his appearance on the boards of the metropolis. The terms of his engagements in London, were more advantageous than were ever before given to any performer in the annals of the theatre. He was engaged first, to play six nights at Covent-Garden; then twelve at Drury-Lane; and afterwards, eighteen at Covent-Garden, at the exorbitant salary of fifty guineas a night, and the clear receipts of the house for every twelve nights performance. This rapid accumulation of wealth, at so early a period of life, is a circumstance unexampled in the biography of any age or nation.

The anxiety of the metropolis to have the testimony of their own senses for the existence of this prodigy, was proportioned to the accounts with which the public prints, and private letters, were daily filled, representing his performances. Those who were most credulous, could not help feeling some suspicions that in the accounts which had been received his merits had been overcharged; the amateurs of the good school, that of nature, who had not for years past forsaken the theatre, could not help feeling their longing to see our hero a little dashed with frequent apprehensions, that, notwithstanding the multiplied evidence which they had seen in the critical writings of the day, he must, from the very necessity of his youth, fall short of what was said of him. Some, more sceptical, declared that it was impossible such a boy could make good the promises of his

panegyrists: While the more fastidious, crabbed critics, undertook to declare that it was all stuff, and nonsensical puffing; and assured the public in that peremptory style, which self-sufficiency is so much in the habit of adopting, that, this mountain of report would, after all its heroes, bring forth but a mouse, in London. Some gentlemen, who were not so hardened as to refuse their assent, or to resist proof, though they would not yield their judgment to assertions of so very extraordinary a kind, travelled down to the country theatres to see this wonder; and a post or two brought back letters from them, to their friends in the metropolis, containing the most ample verification of all the former reports in his favor. At length when he approached the great city, all was anxiety and impatience. Those who believed, and those who doubted, those who feared, and those who hoped, those who would not believe unless they saw, and those who determined not to believe, even though they should see, were alike animated with curiosity, and determined at all events to attend the theatre, whenever the boy played. Every other subject seemed to be forgotten; and every other object of pleasure, curiosity, or inquiry to have vanished. Politics underwent a temporary suspension of its power. Even the question of peace and war, which had such manifold claims of the very strongest and must urgent nature, not only as connected the substantial concerns, but as contributing to the speculative indulgence of the city, lost all its interest for a time; and BONAPARTE and his myrmidons were as little thought of in London, as ever he or his family had been in the Island of Corsica.

The young Roscius was first advertised at Covent-Garden, for the character of Achmet in Barbarossa. The choice of this character was certainly judicious, as it is one in which the defects arising from his youth detracted but little, if any thing from his transcendant powers. The moment it was

announced, the rank and opulence of the city rushed forward to obtain, by all means, and at any cost, entrance into the house, upon his first appearence. When the box-book was filled, and every disposeable seat was taken (in which process the crowds were such as far to surpass any known ever on the night of performance of any actor or actress) large sums were offered for permission to go into the pit and galleries, or to remain there after the play the night before, with all the attendant inconveniencies. a proposal, to which, however tempting, the people of the play house would not accede. A sense of justice in the first place, and in the next the certainty of public indignation, forbid it. There are few things in London, in which the peace, the security, the comfort and even the feelings of individuals are not provided for by positive laws; but when they are not, particularly in all public amusements, the people without distinction, exercise their privilege, and by a very summary process set wrongs right; in the doing of which they very seldom, if ever, go beyond the precise limits of justice; their minds being, in general, trained from infancy, not only to obedience to the laws, which protect them, but to admiration and reverence of those laws for that protection. Early in the morning of that day, on the evening of which the young Roscius was first to appear, all the avenues to the theatre, and the several streets which led to it were crowded; thus they patiently remained all day; and by the time the doors were opened those who stood within a few yards of them made, one firm compact body, wedged in between the walls, and the exterior multitude.

As the public have already had before them in the daily papers, very particular details of the performances of our little hero in London, we will not encumber this work with are petition of them. Suffice it to say, that his powers seemed to rise with his situation; and that the young Roscius in the metropolis, was almost as much superior to Master

BETTY in Birmingham, as the former city is superior to the latter. The cynic owned himself delighted; the crabbed critic for once forgot to be captious; and the electric fire of the boy's superlative genius struck even to the highest summit of judgment and learning. All who are eminent in that great country for taste, erudition and discernment; the most profound scholars; the first born sons of eloquence, Fox, PITT, WINDHAM; judges from the highest benches; clergymen, the most dignified in rank, illustrious for genius and knowledge, and reverenced for piety, all crowded to see him, felt the irresistible force of his genius and acknowledged it. At his benefit their admiration and respect for the boy was most peculiarly exhibited. The great statesmen and orators to whom we have alluded, and whose judgement upon such a subject, will readily be confessed were prominently observable in the crowd, lavishly applauding and expressing their astonishment. And Mr. Fox is publicly stated to have declared, that in the character of Hamlet, the youth fell very little short of Mr. GARRICK, in the zenith of that great man's excellence. The particulars of his acting will come more properly under the article of criticism. Dropping him, therefore, here, as biographers, we will add, from an admirable British publication, from which his life is chiefly taken, a few remarks upon the circumstances in which he stands, with respect to his prospects of future fortune, and the management of his concerns during his minority, mixed with some sketches upon the theatre.

During the performance at Liverpool, he had the honour to enjoy the particular notice and protection of Prince William Frederick of Gloucester, who resided in that neighbourhood, as commander in chief of the north western district. His royal highness, with the condescension and kindness which distinguish his character, not only testified the highest gratification at his performances, but was pleased to interest himself very strongly in his future wel-

fare. He sent for Mr. BETTY and his son, and expressed to the former, his admiration of the young gentleman's uncommon talents, and his anxious wish, that every means might be employed to bring such rare abilities to their full maturity. He recommended also, in the most open and friendly manner, that the produce of his exertions, or a considerable part of it, should be placed for his use in the hands of trustees. The fund so formed, he said, would furnish the means of completing his education on the liberal and extensive plan, adapted for the profession he had chosen, and of which he was likely to become so conspicuous an ornament. For that purpose, he thought it would be adviseable to engage, at a suitable salary, a man of learning and character, who was qualified to accomplish such a scheme of instruction, and would devote his whole attention to the care of his pupil.

No advice could be more judicious than this, and there is every reason to believe, that as far as circumstances may permit, it is intended to be adopted. With respect to pecuniary matters, it is but justice to say, that Mr. Betty is perfectly sensible of the sort of responsibility which attaches to his situation. He is fully aware that the whole community have their eyes upon him, and that he is considered, as in some degree, a guardian of the public purse. Such a right of cognizance the public will naturally assume, in a case of such general and peculiar interest.

But the management of his son's education, is a matter of far greater moment than the care of his property. The loss of fortune may be easily repaired, but what can atone for the loss of opportunities which can never be recalled? If the spring of life be suffered to escape, and the proper culture is neglected, what future harvest of wealth or fame can repair the injury? In such a case, he would have cause to regret the bounties which nature had bestowed, and the success of his youth would constitute the misfortunes of his declining age.

[To be continued.]

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[Vol. I.

HISTORY.

HISTORIA vero testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriæ, magistra vitæ, nuntia vetustatis, qua voce alia, nisi Oratoris, immortalitati commendatur.

CICERO DE ORATORE.

CHAPTER X.

In accomplishing this deep concerted plan, to govern the country by mere court favouritism, and to concentrate in themselves a share of power which they could not hope to obtain from capacity, past services, popularity, general confidence, or natural influence, the faction willed that the long established political arrangements of the country were to be altered; that every person who acted independently, or held opinions but by servile adoption from the court, were to be put down; that no title to office, to the credit of serving the country, to counsel, to advise, or to interfere in the government, was to be allowed to any, but those who should be content to derive them from the executive power, through the favour of this cabal; that those who were patriotic, virtuous and firm, should be removed, and their political weight and existence destroyed; and that all the political connections which had before subsisted, should be dissolved. Those who possessed influence in the state, by the tenure of well-earned

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[To be continued.]